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243 In Guaraní tillage the cultivation of maize assumes an importance incomparably superior to any other vegetal species. /48/ [262] [273] [433] Maize, besides being one of the principal sources of food (particularly among the Ñandéva and Kayová), constitutes the principal raw material for the production of chicha (a fermented beverage) and, moreover, is a product that always finds a market outside the village.

243 824 The original maize of the Guaraní is the soft maize, known among the caboclos by the name of saboró. There are those who call it catetinho, thus giving rise to confusion with the hard cateto. [437] Since the saboró is not suitable for trading, the Guaraní are shifting to cultivating at the same time the hard maize, which the Indians themselves also eat. The latter, which takes six months to ripen, is generically given the name of tupí, which indicates that it is a matter of a species of foreign origin, whether from a non-Guaraní tribe or from the civilized world. The Guaraní are fully aware of [177] [437] the distinction between the saboró maize as a traditional cultural element and the hard maize, received from outside in more or less recent times and impossible to reject once there was the necessity to produce for commerce in order to obtain money. [173] There inheres in saboró maize, with its soft kernel, which fructifies from two to three months and ripens in four, a sacred character; it is considered the principal gift of the mythical beings called Djakairá (among the Kayová), and it is also the most suitable for making chicha. The clearings of soft maize and hard maize are done separately, and precautions are taken not to mix the seeds; the kernels of the ears that show signs of crossing are not used for planting. Both are planted only once a year, between the months of August and October, beginning the harvest more or less in January, when the great celebration of the avatí-mongaraí is held.

[184] The names given to the varieties of saboró maize are not uniform; they differ from village to village and, even more, from one [126] [114] subgroup to another. On my travels I collected specimens of some seven or eight varieties, delivering them, for genetic study, to Professor Frederico Brieger of the Escola Superior de Agricultura Luís de Queirós, of Piracicaba. Some are plants of low growth, for which

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476 574 273 The day of puxirão is a day of celebration, generally a Saturday. In certain groups it ends with a dance, moistened by a few drops, in others with a lively chicha or cauim /a kind of fermented beverage/ celebration, in a manner that, according to the chronicles, might have been verified among the ancient Tupinambá. This is true for the Kayová, who by the way do not fail to show lively satisfaction during the tasks, accompanied by constant shouts of joy, jokes, and stimulating competition between the small parties into which the group is divided for the activity. The work is transformed into a game. Among the Kayová the bond between chicha celebrations and puxirão is so close that the economic function of the celebrations cannot but be stressed. According to the traditional Kayová pattern, the "owner of the chicha," as he is called, does not offer food, but only chicha; it is true that the participants may take some food from the clearing of the "owner." The morning period is devoted to the work; the afternoon and evening, to drunkenness and the dances.

476 178 [62] [184] Among the Ñandéva of Dourados, where the puxirão seems to have in large part lost its primordial function as a manifestation of the solidarity /59/ of the group, there is a tendency to replace it by patterns that are more rational -- or more advantageous and efficient from the economic point of view. If someone has enough money to organize a puxirão, [273] he prefers to use it to have a relative or companion undertake the job of clearing, thus avoiding the disagreeable consequences of the drunkenness. And a puxirão without drinking would be difficult to have. -- At Araribá, for its part, the puxirão is disappearing because of the fact that the ancient spirit of reciprocity and co-operation does not exist; they tend to abandon it, because it has become common not to return the services rendered to a companion. As the participation in the work is entirely free, there not being a consensus as to its being morally obligatory, the nonappearance is not even a motive for disputes. Thus, the institution fails to [182] fulfill its primordial function, which is mutual assistance.

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476 491 177 In many nuclei quite influenced by caboclo culture, the maintenance and cleaning of the roads is also done in the form of collective work. If the chief of the village has enough prestige, he calls the men together for "help"; in the opposite case there is "concurrence" among the inhabitants. Each one takes his lunch -- or not. -- In contrast to the puxirões properly speaking, this form of collective work is certainly not linked to any institution inherent in the traditional culture.

476 177 463 439 The transformations of the primitive conditions of life by the contact with Western society of capitalist type has caused new forms of co-operative work to appear. Thus, among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who furnish native artifacts to the tourists and visitors to the bathing places, any individual may set himself up as a kind of contractor or economic director, calling or inviting his companions to work with him for one or more days in the making of bows, arrows, canes, small swords, and other things. The contractor sells the products in Santos, São Vicente, or São Paulo, distributing part of the profit preferably in the form of purchased food, among those who helped him.

476 574 In the Mbüá puxirões to which reference was made in the last passage above there is also common cooking, each contributing to it according to his possibilities. A man or a woman from the group is in charge of the preparation of the food. The women do not take part in the puxirão, but participate in the joint repast. To organize the puxirão, six to twelve liters of drink are purchased. Before breakfast one or two liters "flow," at two o'clock another similar quantity, once more at four and at six (before having dinner), and the rest at night. To buy the drink they make a "society"; anyone who has money gives.

476 574 262 All this in the puxirões of collective interest. For those that are organized for particular clearings we saw that the owner provides food for the whole group: he buys a fattened pig and drink at the nearby fazenda or village. As for the women, "who only work with the hoe," they also have puxirões (among the Mbüá), "but they do not slaughter /61/ a fattened pig." It does not seem to be a matter of a puxirão properly speaking, but

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informal collaboration (10).

10. /From p. 65 of the original source./ Among the Mbüá of Paraguay they told me about having mutirões -- which they call putỹvõ -- of men and, more rarely, of women. The latter organize them to open the holes in the planting of the maize. Incidentally, these Mbüá consider all of planting women's work, "by divine command," allowing the collaboration of the men only in the case of having few women. Except in fishing with timbo, of collective interest, the putỹvõ /sic/ is made for a certain family, not being accompanied or followed by any celebration. Perhaps this is explained by the fact that the Mbüá are not familiar with any fermented drink, which distinguishes them from the Kayová and the Ñandéva.

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A manifest expression of the solidarity of the local group, which, as has already been emphasized, is reduced in the final analysis to a mere association of great-families, the puxirão represents one of the few co-operative institutions by which the different groups of kindred are linked economically. Besides that, it is quite true, the distribution of the yield from hunting is to be emphasized. But as far as anything else is concerned, mutual aid in the economic sector, although constant and never lacking, takes place on an entirely informal plane. Each family plants for itself and considers itself the owner of its clearings; nevertheless, consumption assumes a quite communitarian form, particularly in times of want. Not noticeably affecting the self-sufficiency and the economic freedom of the different great-families that make up the local group, the exchange of services among them consequently assumes a genuine character of symbiosis.

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585 178 [581] [304] [829] no one married before having his lip pierced. Nowadays the Kayová is like a beast, because he does not know the system of the old people nor that of the civilized ones." According to the same informant, there formerly existed among the Kayová a marriage ceremony, which was not conducted by the ñanderú or paí (contrary to what Marçal de Souza told me), nor by the capitão of the village, but by a married couple, that is, by a married man and his wife; the man took the boy by the arm, the woman the girl, they were joined and they were considered married. Such a practice, which has disappeared today and about which I have not been able to obtain any detailed data, very probably originated in post-Columbian times; the couple that performs the ceremony reminds one of the "witnesses" or "godparents" of a marriage at the time of the mission. What is certain is that today among the Kayová the marriage is performed in an informal manner by the capitão of the village, who decides whether the claimants shall or shall not consider themselves married.

585 178 203 [199] [535] [431] In bygone times the Kayová used to commemorate a marriage with a chicha; nowadays they content themselves at least in certain villages, with "a dance of Paraguayan type," at the bride's home and given by her family. The whole village is invited for the entertainment, food being offered to those who appear, and rum being drunk in place of chicha. Gifts are not given to the bride and groom.

585 182 [177] A curious combination of traditional elements with others of recent adoption is observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá. It is clearly seen there how marriage ceremonies become integrated in the /77/ tribal culture to the extent that it preserved characteristics that would permit such integration. The institution of marriage has been adopted by the community; it is concluded according to what one may call "traditional ceremonial techniques." I have not attended any marriage; I owe the description to old Capitão Maneco, Poýdjú. This is his statement: There is not much wooing. In general the young man goes to the girl's parents, asking for their consent to marry. They ask for the opinion of their daughter. Then the parents of both agree

584 [585] [114] [115]

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881 784 The initiation is a matter of rigorous secrecy, in which one who has not had his lip pierced does not participate. It is unheard of that women and children or foreign individuals would have witnessed the ceremonies. There is little probability, unfortunately, that any anthropologist will one day succeed in obtaining permission to observe them. Not even dogs, horses, or other domestic animals may remain in the vicinity, having to be carefully tied.

881 782 The kunumí-pepý is not only a religious celebration for those being initiated, but for the whole male population of the united villages. The men sing a series of different prayers, corresponding to different aspects or phases of the ceremony. My informant, [115] Vicente of Amambai, enumerated five prayers.

[192] [386] [624] The first refers to the fiemonguý, the black dye of yváporoý tý (the same name in Portuguese), with which the spot for the labial hole is marked. The spot is marked by the yvyráídjá, that is, an officiant assisting the fianderú or paí.

881 782 304 624 [192] [622] [156] [273] The second prayer refers to the yvyrárakuá, a wooden instrument for making the hole. The yvyráídjá also has the office of piercer -- the fianderú only gives orders -- he is seated on the apyká, the ceremonial bench; in front of him there is another apyká, on which is put first the /97/ "chief of the kids," or huitxá, then in turn the others (called the ivódjá), who wait their turn seated in a line on a series of apyká to the right and left. The piercer always stays on the same apyká; the candidates, made drunk beforehand with chicha, are brought before him. Another yvyráídjá, who stands beside the piercer, puts a tembetá-mirim in the newly opened orifice.

881 782 The third prayer refers to the tembetá (5):

[301] [824] [314]

5. /From p. 98 of the original source./ The tembetá, measuring in general 8 to 15 centimeters long, and in exceptional cases up to double that, is made of the resin of tembetá-ý (also called mbavý; in Portuguese: pau-vidro /glass tree/), which looks like yellow amber. The resin exists in sufficient quantity only after

2: Schaden--184 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/140 cont./

771 Eugênio, who could have had the duty of conducting the prayers
177 according to the tribal system. But perhaps there was no possi-
178 bility of arriving at an understanding. Eugênio, for example, did
[159] not live in good relations with the family of Arnaldo, who years earlier had disputed with him the patent of capitão of the village. Thus the social disorganization opens the way for religious acculturation. While the decision to "have a mass prayed" according to Catholic or caboclo rites is not important, of course, in the sacrifice of the old beliefs, it nevertheless prepares the ground for their replacement.

771 /141/ A very significant fact is that the Catholic elements
176 accepted with great facility are those that refer to the cult of the
177 saints as it is known among the neighboring rural populations.
77 Images or prints of saints are not rare in the Ñandéva houses. At
177 Bananal a young Ñandéva opened a small store or "xiboca" in
[441] his house, but since movement was very slow, he gave up the
● [273] business and changed the counter into an altar, decorating it with wax candles and images of saints put in a niche; he was careful not to take a drink within sight of the images, so as not to be disrespectful and not to strip them of their "forces." In the house of João Samuel, a Ñandéva who had lived for some years in São Vicente, there was a small altar with many images of saints. He had "bartered" with a "santeiro" /a "saint man"/, a dealer in re-
[437] ligious articles, for them. (Images of saints are not "bought" or "sold," but are "bartered for" by means of money, a chicken, or anything else.) On João Samuel's altar there was an image of Santo Onofre, who "makes many miracles, but one must give him a little glass of water or water with wine, so he will not run away." There was a little church with the Good Jesus of Pirapora; before it the houseowner put a small coin as "promise." At one side, Santo Amônio, "with his little son." And other saints. João Samuel used to light a candle for all, and sometimes he would put on the altar, in order to make it more effective, the medicine that someone in his household had to take.

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to the /176/ demands of the new conditions, which forces him to share the power with a civil chief. 3. Teachings of the Christian doctrine are invoked to explain the frustration, making possible a reinterpretation of the myth. 4. The frustration is related in causal terms to the aspects of cultural change appraised negatively, which favors the strengthening of antiacculturative reactions. 5. Both the negative result of the ceremonies and the misery and poverty stemming from the carelessness of the economic activities result in general psychic depression, a persecution mania, flight toward sickness and other such morbid manifestations (10).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 228]

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10. /From pp. 177-178 of the original source./ It is necessary, in my opinion, to include among these manifestations the considerable consumption of sugar-cane aguardiente among the present-day Guaraní, undoubtedly bound up with the larger sphere of the acculturative problems. No great effort is needed to see that the tendency toward alcoholism increases in direct proportion to the social disorganization and the frequency of contacts with foreigners. The most prone to the vice are the Ñandéva and Mbüá of the villages of Bananal, Itariri, and Rio Branco; the least, the Mbüá most faithful to the original patterns of their culture, such as, for example, the Mbüá of the Serra dos Itatins, who came from Paraguay in 1948 and among whom, on the occasion of my visits, there was no inveterate drinker.

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The attitude of the Indians regarding drunkenness is interesting. Some, generally the ones most caboclolzed, feel little pleasure when the subject is mentioned; they are ashamed of the vice, which they try to fight, even by means of remedies. Others, like the Mbüá of Rio Branco, talk about their tendency toward the use of drink without the least constraint: "Sometimes a person

2: Schaden--227 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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• 273 828 wants to feel warm." I observed an exception to the general rule, which is to drink as long as one can or as long as there is liquor, in a Mbüá of Rio Branco, who, after three or four little glasses of liquor at the shop of Evangelista de Souza, showed some energy: "What I wanted to drink I have already drunk. Now it is good." Almost all, however, are overcome by apathy and do not react.

[184 648 797] Among the Nandéva and Kayová of Dourados, in spite of the vigilance exerted by the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the influence of the Protestant mission, it happens that the proceeds from the changa /wage labor/ is spent on drink, sometimes in one night the earnings of a whole week or more of work. On the following day there is no manifestation of regret or even of discontent, unless drunkenness has become generalized in the village, women and children participating in it, cases in which there are "misunderstandings" with regard to the wives of other men in the course of the drunkenness and the subsequent fights, not infrequently very violent ones. It is to be noted here, by the way, that the older Indians have less inclination toward the use of aguardiente than the younger ones; they are induced to drink by the latter, sometimes drawn in by their own children. There are feasts, anniversaries and others, that are reduced to serenades with liquor, becoming drunk with a great hubbub, even children three and four years old. And at the chicha feasts the Kayová sometimes add some bottles of liquor to the traditional drink.

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273 182 177 There seems to be no doubt but that alcoholism reflects the state of cultural poverty, supplying a

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273 182 177 substitute motivation for the objectives dictated by the culture and whose realization has become utopian by virtue of the transformations arising from cultural contacts.

77 177 178 182 and in exceptional cases in thanatomania and suicide. /The notes for Ch. X appear on pp. 176-178 in the original source./

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Conclusion

77 182 128 Since the fundamental characters of the culture and of the acculturative processes have become quite explicit as the observed facts were presented, a final chapter devoted especially to the interpretation of the data seems dispensable. Rigorously speaking, the pages on the role of the myth of Paradise in the culture and in the life of the three subtribes constitute the conclusion of the essay. This myth, the point of convergence of the most significant manifestations of acculturation is, without doubt, one of the master keys for an understanding of the tribal culture, as well as of the phenomena of cultural disintegration and social disorganization observed in the Guaraní groups now existing in Brazilian territory.

It is sufficient, therefore, to take up again here some of the main points, with the aim of emphasizing the more important general aspects.

177 182 All the spheres of the Guaraní cultural configuration, as far as it can be studied in the villages in Brazil, show profound influences from the point of view of acculturation, undergone in two distinct epochs and in essentially different situations of contact. The first ones, at the time of the Jesuit missions, affected the religious system in particular, with regard to the ceremonies as

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*174 226 ample, speaking of Cayuá farther down the Paraná than Taquapiri, does not give the impression that we would expect from Métraux's statement about the lack of Cayuá fishing.[46]

In any event, the Cayuá practiced fishing at least to a limited extent and knew the techniques of angling, fish poisoning, weir building, and stream damming. It must remain a question for the time being whether the present poverty of fishing techniques is recent or a matter of long standing. It is *174 likely that fishing was somewhat more important in bygone days.

224 The trapping of animals, while classifiable as a special form of hunting, was in a certain sense a meeting ground of agricultural and hunting practices. Traps, snares, and deadfalls had to be set to keep animal depredations in the planted crops at a minimum. At the same time, of course, the supply of meat *174 acquired in this manner contributed to the Cayuá larder.

222 Gathering practices, largely the responsibility of the women, played a [462] fairly important secondary part in the food economy of the Cayuá. This was primarily due to the fact that a considerable number of fructiferous trees and bushes grow in the region.[47] Among the wild plants widely used for food by the Cayuá are to be found *gwaimbé* (*Philodendron bipinnatifidum*), *jabotiabá* (*Myrciaria cauliflora*), *vacué* (*Pandanus utilis*, Bory), *gwaBirèBa* (*Mirtacea* [252] family), *gwajuBira* (?), and *araticá* (*Rollinia exalbida*). The use of the heart [171] of the *pindó* palm (*Cocos romanzoffiana*) to make flour as well as shoots for roasting is reported; it is also known to have been a characteristic food practice of some of the non-Guarani-speaking peoples, such as the Mbayá-Caduveo.

• [273] One modern informant insisted that formerly certain wild fruits were used, at the proper times of the year, to make the all-important *cãuí* or *chicha* beer. (Corn, potatoes, or manioc are traditional ingredients.)

The women also gathered yearly a certain large ant, *yuí*, when it left its house about October. Standing near the mouth of the ant houses with their feet in small, prepared water holes so as not to be bitten, they swept large [252] quantities of the insects into vessels. These would later be roasted, principally for the white fat or oil which was stored in the tail segment of each ant and which was highly esteemed for food. Certain grubs, including one called *tambá* (*Calandra palmarum*) were also eaten.

Another aspect of gathering practices was connected with the several varieties of melliferous bees which live in the Cayuá habitat. Locating hives and the systematic gathering of honey were fairly well developed practices [171] among the aboriginal Cayuá. This trait they doubtless shared with the neighboring Guarani as well as with the little known Guayaki of Paraguay, people who have been characterised as having "a honey culture." There was a

[46] Ambrosetti, 1894, pp. 701, 727 ff.

[137] [47] Apparently an even larger number of such fruit-bearing trees, including many of the same varieties, grow in the environment of the more northerly dwelling Tupí-Guaraní.

3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

tioned off or given any real means of privacy, to judge from the absence of comment to this point in the literature and the lack of any present tradition. Some *tapái* apparently housed so many occupants that to uninitiated European observers such as Rengger[46] the dwelling groups were taken to be whole tribes, all the members of which were living under a single roof.

Adding to the impression of the *tapái* group as an autonomous unit, sometimes mistaken for a "tribe," was the fact that each *tapái* (perhaps group of *tapái*) stood quite alone in the forest at some distance from the nearest neighboring *tapái*. How great the distance may have been within a single recognized community of *tapái*-extended families is not known, but it is quite clear that often, if not always, no other *tapái* could be seen from the location of a given dwelling. This condition seems to have been associated in some way with the importance of hunting and gathering in a forest area and also with the Cayuá penchant for concealment of their dwellings and the trails to them. (The latter inclination is still today manifest in subtle ways.) Apparently one came suddenly and with no forewarning upon a *tapái*, its clearing opening abruptly out of the dense surrounding forest. Such isolation could only stress the basic importance and discreteness of the extended family dwelling unit among the Cayuá, and its relative autonomy.

Economically also, the basic unity and autonomy of the extended family was given expression. The *tapái* group was the fundamental production-consumption unit of the Cayuá. Its *kokwé*, or agricultural clearing, was farmed jointly by the extended family members and the produce jointly distributed. There are inferences that elementary families did not possess individual clearings; it is not impossible, however, that certain sections of the *tapái's kokwé* plantation were separately assigned to the several component elementary families. It is not certain that hunting activity was joint, although certain types of fishing may have been, notably that in which the poisonous *timbó* plant was employed. In any case, the products of hunting and fishing were sometimes (perhaps regularly) jointly distributed in a manner suggesting the extended family as the basic group. In the preparation of *cáuí* and the giving of a drinking fest in which large quantities of this beverage were consumed, the *tapái* group was the smallest effective unit of the community. The women of the extended family were the ones to prepare the drink and the common (?) stores of the *tapái* furnished the ingredients of corn, potatoes, or manioc.

The aboriginal relation of the extended family grouping to kinship suggests a controversial point. The Cayuá may have had a somewhat unusual type of marital right or presumptive marriage of mother's brother with sister's daughter (maternal uncle to niece). Wagley and Galvão state that they failed

[46] Rengger, 1835, pp. 120, 130–131.

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

America, is still practiced by the women and children. No use of the dark *genipá*, a plant substance also widely used for painting, was observed by the writer, but it may be that this color has a special and extraordinary purpose. No extensive feather work was in evidence, but it is clear that the bright colored feathers, especially of the toucan and parrot, are still used to make colorful little swatches and tassels to decorate wooden crosses (*kurusá* from Spanish *cruz*), *mbaraká*, and wooden whistles. Feathers may also be still used with cotton head bands, armbands, and collars for ceremonial wear; examples of such pieces were observed, though not in use. These feathered paraphernalia, however, are in no wise as spectacular as the feather work that has come to be associated with the aboriginal Tupi of the coast; in fact, they are rather plain.

Of household furnishings, hammocks, carved, small wooden benches, mortars and pestles, and large wooden troughs for *cĩuí'* are still made. The wooden benches of the Cayuá at Taquapiri are simple affairs and very plain, and no attempt was made in the benches seen to represent forms from nature. The only decoration, if any, is of simple lines and dots of red paint applied to the two flat sides of the bench. Mortars and pestles have lost none of their utility and are, in fact, universally in use by the Neo-Brazilians of the region, as well as by the Cayuá. They are employed by the Indians primarily for pounding corn, though the "horizontal" mortar is used for smashing sugar cane for its juice. The axe and the machete have so facilitated the manufacture of *cĩuí'* troughs that the largest trees in the forest can now be felled and converted into containers for making this beer. The only limitation concerning their size is that the trough must be transportable from the place where the tree grew. There is little question that the present communal *cĩuí'* trough at Taquapiri is the largest ever—at least in the minds of those who made it—and they are probably right. The number of such beer troughs is now smaller in relation to the population than formerly, but this is not directly related to any technological factor.

Basketry, men's work, does not appear to have suffered greatly compared with its aboriginal state, although here, as in so many other places, scant information is available. Firefans, women's back carrying baskets with woven tumplines, crude temporary baskets for hand carrying, and trays of many sizes for straining and winnowing are still made, much as ever. Acculturation has possibly resulted in an increase in the number of woven rattan strainers and winnowing trays manufactured. This is because the Cayuá product is now used (for the same purposes) by most of the local Neo-Brazilian settlers.

Musical instruments of the present-day Cayuá include *mbaraká* gourd rattles, *takuapá* (stamping tubes of *taquara*), tiny musical bows, flutes and wooden whistles. It may be that the aboriginal Cayuá did not have such instruments as the musical bow, although white acculturation is not indicated as their source. No guitars or violins of any sort, home-made or bought, were seen

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

465 The goods with which the Cayuá is remunerated for his work for Brazilians
648 are usually white trade goods, or less commonly money, and it is for trade
4 64 goods that he actually works. There would be little sense, of course, in working
511 for things which he himself also produces in agriculture. The few individuals who "specialize" in wage work as a result of this modern alternative, *changa*, are usually long on white trade goods and short on the food crops produced in the Cayuá *koêxé*. Such a man may have, in Cayuá terms, a good machete, a hoe, and an axe, and good clothes on his own back and for his wife and children. He perhaps even owns a pig (which, of course, he has no means of feeding properly), or a horse, and probably has other things of value he has received from his *patrão*. This same individual may also have the poorest *koêxé* in the village and hence will have scant to eat oftentimes, although he is otherwise [438] much better situated than his fellows. One cannot readily barter the white trade goods for sufficient food, either with the Brazilians or with other Cayuá. The "market" is not yet that flexible; the various goods are not freely convertible in terms of each other or of money. Moreover, *changa* is usually inefficient from this point of view, although few Cayuá seem to realize it. They are often cheated by the Brazilians, or paid poorly for their work when no [466] literal cheating takes place. They are commonly charged for their "board," that is, for the meager fare they receive from the *patrão* while staying on his property for several days' work. Frequently much of what the *peão* earns he is encouraged to consume in the form of cheap *aguardente*. This, of course, costs the Cayuá considerably more than it originally cost the settler.[272]

*177 A sort of *changa* or working for hire is now occurring on a limited scale
464 among the Cayuá themselves. This new development suggests the manner in
465 which modern commercial modes of thought and behavior may invade a culture with a primitive economy, and shows how far this has taken place at Taquapiri. For example, one Cayuá merely agrees to pay another so much in cloth, or whatever it may be (usually white trade goods), in exchange for hoeing a certain area or planting so much manioc. A single informant was able to mention four or five different instances of this arrangement with which he was acquainted, and he knew the terms of two of them. Interestingly enough, the kinship of this "internal *changa*" to its Neo-Brazilian model is even borne out in the Cayuá allusion to the arrangement as "*changa*" and their joking references to the Indian employer as a "*patrão*." The scale of pay seems to be about the same as that prevailing outside the village with Neo-Brazilians, but one informant said that he would prefer to work for settlers because the pay was better.[273]

[273] [272] The desire for alcohol seems to be an active factor in the excessive work in *changa* of at least one Cayuá at Taquapiri. Selling alcoholic beverages to Indians is said to be a Brazilian federal offense.

[273] One case of bad faith was observed in which the Cayuá "patrão" paid his worker in ad-

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

*178 496 the various extended families that comprised a settlement.[56] The *puhirõ* afforded pleasure and the solidarity of assisting, as well as the assurance that when the participants in turn wanted help, it would be forthcoming. But

> The *mutirão* [*puhirõ*] is not properly aid, an act of salvation, or a mission of mercy; it is rather a gesture of friendship, an excuse for a let-up of one's labors, a very attractive form of cooperation [not "cooperation" in our definition here] in order to accomplish rapidly a piece of agricultural work.[57]

Today there is something less than universal agreement about the merits of the *puhirõ* and something less than total participation by all individuals in the village.[58] Some individuals say that *puhirõ* work is not good and that they prefer to do their own work; then at least they will have it well done, though it necessarily takes more time. Others say that the *puhirõ* "costs too much," referring primarily to the corn or other ingredients necessary to make the *cauí*, which is traditionally served to those who help. Today, also, it is partly the prestige derived by those who give big drinking fest-dances and provide [57] their fellows large quantities of *cauí* that keeps the *puhirõ* alive. However, this is not to suggest that the *puhirõ* is a heavy burden in all respects. Some persons who have frequent recourse to the *puhirõ* for work manage very well economically, have large *kokué*, and are not handicapped in doing their outside [527] change work for Brazilian *patrões*. Some can afford to be the hosts at large, all-village dances and drinking fests on Saturday nights, and in this activity they vie with each other to serve more *cauí* to their fellow villagers than ever before.[59] Nor is the large-scale *puhirõ* the only type; small work parties without village-wide drinking fests are very frequent. In other words, in the purely economic sense, the *puhirõ* apparently works well for some individuals, while for others it works only moderately well. Still others never give *puhirõ*.

Following Mead's distinction, participation in the *puhirõ*, while certainly collective, is not cooperation but rather only helpfulness. The distinction is

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[56] Possibly this function is somehow reminiscent of the "*grupos de trabalho*" (work groups) which Baldus (1937, pp. 86–112) has recognized among the Tupinambá.

[19] [57] Ayrosa, quoted in Baldus and Willems, 1939, p. 197. The varying orthography of the word *puhirõ-mutirão* is probably to be explained on the basis of the Tupí-Guaraní consonant "rule" of many dialects. Also, of course, this word itself varied in other respects from one dialect to another.

[58] It is true, of course, that the *puhirõ* may also previously have had some of the character of the optional; the facts are unknown. Perhaps the difference on this point, if any, between the past and the present is one of degree and not of kind.

[59] Hence, perhaps the enormous wooden trough for *cauí*, mentioned supra, p. 30. There is probably some relation of this thing to give large drinking fests and the increased agricultural surplus that has become more and more evident with the expansion of agriculture since aboriginal times. The manufacture of *cauí* is, after all, based largely upon agriculture, since *kokué* crops are the ingredients now used—corn, potatoes, manioc, in that order of importance. An agricultural increase might thus favorably affect the consumption of *cauí*.

[293] [433]

3:Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

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FIG. 11. Women masticating boiled, pounded corn for *cheʔ*. The mixture is still hot, too hot for comfort for the inexperienced. After chewing, each mouthful is returned to the mass.

FIG. 12. Women straining small log tank batch of chicha (*cheʔ*) for home consumption. She uses a gourd dipper and Cayuá woven strainer.

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FIG. 13. Convivial drinking group at ritual (not whole village) affair in connection with a *mbaʔéra*. Like most other such affairs, it was marked by high spirits and much hilarity. No dancing usually accompanies these small *mbaʔéra* the drinking phases of which are held during daylight hours, immediately following the work.

FIG. 14. Women's group (with several girls) at dance that lasted until noon the following day because *cheʔ* lasted until then. Note mother dancing with child on hip, a regular occurrence.

FIG. 15. Two large log tanks (also seen in Figure 1) in which *cheʔ* is fermented for village-wide drinking fests. Right-hand tank about 25 feet long, 3 feet outside diameter.

/37 cont./
000 father's death, the boy is taught by the paternal uncle.
881 On the occasion of the first menstruation of the girl, they
562 shave the hair off her head, leaving her in a room in which no
person will come during the menstrual period, except the mother
[515] of the girl. It is the mother who takes food to her and who, be-
sides this, takes her each evening to a nearby brook, where the
girl takes a bath. This is done during the first two menstrual
periods and the event is common knowledge in the aldeia. From
[262] then on this practice is suspended. The same dietary restrictions
[431] that are imposed on the pregnant woman hold equally for the girl
during the first menstruation. On this occasion the father also
usually gives the girl a new dress.

The initiation ceremony for the boys is held every five or six years approximately, and on this occasion the boys of the community between eight and thirteen years of age are initiated. There are cases in which the boy postpones his initiation until the age of 20, which, nevertheless, is undesirable from several points
[796] of view. After the ceremony of the "first fruits," which in gen-
[346] eral terminates at the end of February or at the beginning of March, the boys, while they are being initiated, remain in the large communal house, which constitutes the social and religious center of
[252] the aldeia. The boys' parents send foods there, which are cooked
[869] there for them by one of the single girls of the aldeia. During the day the boys may do what they please, but at night they receive instruction and learn a large number of songs. This goes on for several months, until the performance of the final ceremony.
[304] /38/ On this occasion the boys' lower lip is pierced in order to install the tembetá, a very thin stick of resin, and nowadays measuring about four centimeters in length. Only the men of
[273] the aldeia may attend the ceremony and participate in it. Before the piercing of the lip, the boys are given a portion of chicha,
[593] which is the fermented drink made out of maize. In the administration of the drink the father of any of the boys who are being initiated may not take part. Once the lip has been pierced, each
[352] boy sits on a small seat of wood made by the father. If the father
[784] of one of the boys, as is sometimes the case, has a very small
[843]

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

178 a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the
622 authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.
621 The members of the ancient *Guaraní* communities built the houses of their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

685 **Law and order.**—It is only about modern *Caingué* communities that
756 there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by
695 shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If
684 the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be
682 returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the punishment into its own hands.

576 **Etiquette.**—Among ancient *Guaraní*, when a guest entered a hut, he
574 was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the importance of the visitor (Ruiz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

543 **Birth and naming.**—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must
846 avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth, the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, re-
842 fraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Apapocuva*
775 believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's
756 first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his super-
789 natural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's
851 body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated
177 by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred
178 objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is
551 supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with
77 the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of Tupã, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine name-
553 sake. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed
851 and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp. 302–303).

881 **Boys' initiation.**—A *Caingué* boy undergoes something of an initiation rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of
[273] a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat anesthetized with beer,
[412] a specialist perforates each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-horn
[237] awl and prays to Tupã that the labret may protect its wearer against death.
[293] For the three following days the initiates eat only maize mush. After
[195] their initiation they drop the infantile "u, u" (yes) for the adult masculine "ta."

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

games with rubber balls. These ball games were still popular in some Jesuit missions until the 18th century.

Today the *Caingud* play with a maize-leaf shuttlecock, which they throw at each other and try to keep in the air as long as possible.

Musical instruments.—Among the ancient *Guaraní* and among their modern descendants, the gourd rattle and the stamping tube are the most sacred religious instruments. In the *Apapocuva-Guaraní* tribe, rattles are handled only by men. Their "voice," i.e., their sound, is believed to be endowed with sacred power. Shamans are capable of shaking rattles according the most varied rhythmic patterns. The stamping tube is a bamboo section closed at one end, trimmed with feathers, and engraved with checkerboard designs. It is an instrument reserved to women who pound it against the ground to produce a dull thud which marks the cadence of their dances.

The flutes of the ancient *Guaraní* were often made of the long bones of their slain enemies. There is no information in our sources about their other musical instruments.

There are few types of musical instruments among modern *Caingud*. The *Paĩ* and *Chiripa* have musical bows which they play either with their fingers or with a fiddle bow. The transverse flute with six stops and a blowhole was adopted by *Mbyá* men in post-Columbian times. A curious type of panpipe used only by women has been reported among modern *Caingud*. It consists of five bamboo tubes of different sizes which are not bound together, but are simply held with both hands. Spanish drums and guitars are now supplanting native musical instruments.

Narcotics.—Yerba maté, or "Paraguay tea," though now characteristic of Paraguay and used daily by the *Guaraní*, who sip it through a reed from a small gourd, is scarcely mentioned in the old literature. The aboriginal *Guaraní* seem to have regarded it as a magic herb taken only by shamans. Modern *Caingud* collect maté in the forest and prepare it in their villages, drying the leaves for a whole night on a platform over a fire.

Tobacco was smoked in the form of cigars or in pipes. Clay pipes have been found archeologically, and the *Caingud* still used them not long ago. Like some *Chiriguano* pipes, those of the *Caingud* had their bowls ornamented with a sort of crest.

Like the *Tupinambá* and other Brazilian tribes, the *Guaraní* celebrated all the main events of life with drinking bouts: The return of a successful hunting or fishing expedition, harvest, and the execution of a prisoner. Their favorite beverage (kaguiai) was prepared mainly with maize but also with sweet potatoes and more rarely with manioc. Fermentation was activated by the addition of chewed corn or leaves of caa-tory (*Physurus* sp.). Modern *Caingud* prepare mead, which may be quite strong.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

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under certain conditions. Some activities in the agricultural work of the *roça*, nevertheless, are preferably if not necessarily performed by the women.

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Very important as a strictly feminine contribution to the economy is the woman's part as the producer of *chicha*.[9] The *chicha*-maker is important to the economy in two ways: *1)* the *chicha* which she produces is consumed as a beverage, doubtless has nutritive as well as socially ascribed value, and is therefore a "good"; and *2)* her *chicha* is essential in the system of reciprocal joint labor. After every work party, the wife or some close female relative of the man for whom the others have worked offers *chicha* which she has made. Cayuá *chicha*-making is in a certain sense, of course, only a rather specialized aspect of cooking. *Chicha*-making is today closely related to agricultural activity and the drink is made from agricultural products, corn, potatoes, manioc and sugar cane juice. Its present *use* and *function* in the agricultural round of things is unmistakable.

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Historic Influences on Cayuá Culture

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In general outline, the influences which have played upon the culture of the Cayuá during recorded history, at least within the period with which we shall be concerned in this paper, are very similar to influences upon indigenous culture elsewhere in the Americas occasioned by the coming of the Europeans. They are: *1)* the introduction of metal tools and the other common trade goods of expanding European civilization; *2)* more and more direct contact of the white settlers with the indigenous peoples bringing with it varying results; and, finally, *3)* the restriction of territories and the dislocation of the people from their former territories, with the frequent and logical result of such a trend, establishment on reservations.

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The Jesuits, 1610-1768

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Very little can be said here about what may have been the influences upon the Cayuá of the Jesuits with their missionary set-

9 "Chicha" is the Spanish and the Portuguese word as employed by the Cayuá. Their own word for this beverage is cxⁿ wiⁿ.

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4 Cayua

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In order to explore new regions for hunting and fishing possibilities, to visit distant relatives or friends, these Indians employ waterways almost exclusively, principally when the rivers are full and the rapids and falls easier to pass. On these voyages the entire family is accommodated in the canoe..." [21]

These observations on the extent, skill, and dexterity with which the Cayuá formerly used the canoe are all the more interesting since the Cayuá of Taquapiry, as well as other Cayuá of southern Mato Grosso, apparently do little or nothing with the canoe today. The Taquapiry group lives at some distance from navigable waters, and practically all of their travelling, usually not very extensive, is done overland.[22]

By abandoning the canoe, the Cayuá gave up one of the most obvious and most useful means of moving about in a region served largely by the extensive fluvial system of the great Paraná and its tributaries. This fact, together with the facts that the Cayuá frontier had been gradually receding over a period of many years, and that the Cayuá were finally assigned to *reservas* represent major forces for Cayuá sedentarism. Whether the Cayuá gave up the canoe because they were assigned to territories where canoes would be of little utility, or whether the canoe had already been more or less abandoned in the general process of "retreat", before the assignment to *reservas*, is an interesting question though one which is somewhat peripheral to our purpose here.[23] [182]

[21] Von Koenigswald, *op. cit.*

[22] It could not be said, however, that because the Cayuá no longer use canoes, nor have used them for some years, at least, the technique of *making* canoes is dying out among them. The large wooden tanks or vessels, which they carve from solid tree trunks in order to make the "tanks" necessary in the preparation of communal *chichas*, are made in essentially the same way as the dugout canoe of the region. They are up to twenty feet or more long. Baldus (Dr. Herbert Baldus, Professor of Ethnology, Escola Livre de Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo) called the attention of the writer to the fact that von den Steinen describes the use by the Yuruna, a Tupi tribe of the Rio Xingú, of the canoe as a vessel for fermented drinks and the paddle as a stirring ladle. An analogy between the canoe and the wooden *chicha* vessel of the Cayuá is quite apparent as to the form and the technique of manufacture. [415] [293]

[23] It may be significant, when considering the disappearance of canoeing in the case of the Cayuá, to record that migrating whites in Brazil characteristically chose river-course routes, especially in difficult country. Canoe Indians may for [648]

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

241 different. And so on. Although estimating the value of services seems
435 quite rude and approximate, the experienced peon is little likely to
464 be cheated by his *patrão* — at that point in the arrangement, at least.
465 Not only does the idea of payment for services emerge here, then, but also that of different values in keeping with different services.

Nor is the payment of services the only value concept that the
648 Cayuá peons experience and carry back to their own society. While
466 working for their *patrões*, who sometimes live at considerable distance
197 from the home village, the peons' "board" is furnished by the *patrões*.
[273] Excessive prices are often charged and other forms of cheating practices, especially when the Indians have been made drunk from *pinga*[33] furnished (and charged for) by the *patrão*. But under normal circumstances predictable prices will prevail and also ones which are determined by "market influences" — alleged at least, if the "market" happens to be favorable to the *patrão*. A certain amount of dickering always goes on. For example, if originally agreed that cloth would be received as payment for services and the peon later decides that he prefers meat, grease, or salt, a discussion with the *patrão* will probably ensue regarding what should be the respective amounts payable in these substitutes. Sooner or later the peon will come to know the relative money and barter values of almost all the staple, essential goods of the area, and if he receive his payment in money, he may even have occasion to try out his knowledge of prices in one of the general stores of the vicinity. There is, then, ample opportunity for the Cayuá — even the non-peon sometimes — to become accustomed, not only to the general idea of placing values upon goods and services, but to thinking in terms of given values for given products and services.

177 The point, of course, is that at Taquapiry the notion of prices
178 for goods and services, as well as the actual prevailing prices, have come to be associated with economic activities within Cayuá society,
437 as well as between Cayuá and non-Cayuá. Not only are some products
438 of the Cayuá roça coming to be produced on a scale sufficient for a part of the crop to be sold for cash or bartered to non-Cayuá, but the Cayuá are also beginning to barter or sell produce among themselves, although still to a very limited extent. An example noted by

[33] A highly alcoholic drink of distilled, fermented cane juice. Very common in Brazil.